

His Majesties
A N S W E R
TO THE XIX.
P R O P O S I T I O N S
O F
B O T H H O U S E S O F
Parliament.



L O N D O N :

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His Majesties Answer

To the nineteen PROPOSITIONS of both Houses of PARLIAMENT.

BEfore We shall give you Our Answer to your Petition and Propositions, We shall tell you, that We are now clearly satisfied; why the Method, which We traced out to you by Our Message of the 20th of January, and have since so often press'd upon you, as the proper way to compose the distractions of this Kingdom, and render it truly happy, hath been hitherto declined, and is at length thought fit to be looked upon; We now see plainly (and desire that you, and all other Our good Subjects should do so too) that the Cabalists of this businesse have with great Prudence reserved themselves, untill due preparations should be made for their Designe.

If they had unseasonably vented such Propositions, as the Wisdom and Modestie of your Predecessours never thought fit to offer to any of Our Progenitours, nor We in honour or regard to Our Regall authority (which God hath entrusted Us with for the good of Our People) could receive without just indignation (and such many of your present Propositions are) their hopes would soon have been blasted, and those Persons, to whom Offices, Honours, Power and Commands were designed, by such ill timing of their businesse, would have failed of their expectation, not without a Brand upon the attempt. Therefore, before any of this nature should appear, they have (certainly with great wisdom in the Conduct of it) thought fit to remove a troublesome Rub in their way, *The Law*; To this end, (that they might undermine the very foundations of it) a new Power hath been assumed to interpret and declare Laws without Us by extemporary Votes, without any Case judicially before either House (which is in effect the same thing as to make Laws without Us) Orders and Ordinances made onely by both Houses (tending to a pure arbitrary power) were pressed upon the people as Laws, and their obedience required to them.

Their next step was, To erect an upstart Authority without Us (in whom, and onely in whom the Laws of this Realm have placed that Power) To command the *Militia* (very considerable to this their Designe;) In further order to it they have wrested from Us Our Magazine and Town of *Hull*, and bestrid Sir *John Hotham* in his bold-faced Treason; They have prepared and directed to the People unprejudiced Investives against Our Government, thereby (as much as lay in their power) to weaken Our just Authority and due esteem among them; They have as injuriously as presumptuously (though We conceive by this time Impudence it self is ashamed of it) attempted to cast upon Us aspersions of an unheard of nature, as if We had *favoured a Rebellion in*

Our own bowels; They have likewise broached new Doctrine, *That we are obliged to passe all Laws that shall be offered to Us by both Houses* (howsoever Our own Judgement and Conscience shall be unsatisfied with them) a *House of Policy*, as proper for their present business, as destructive to all Our Rights of Parliament; And so with strange shamelesnesse will forget a Clause in a Law still in force, made in the second year of King H. 5. wherein both Houses of Parliament do acknowledge, *That it is of the Kings Regality to grant or deny such of their Petitions as pleaseb Himself*; They have interpreted Our necessary Guard, legally assembled for the defence of Us and Our Childrens Persons against a Traitor in open Rebellion against Us, to be *with intent to leave War against Our Parliament*, (the thought whercof Our very soul abhorreth) thereby to render Us odious to Our people.

They have fo awed Our good Subjects with Purstvants, long chargeable Attendance, Heavie Censures and illegall Imprisonments, that few of them durst offer to present their tenderesse of Our sufferings, their own Inconveniences, and their sense of those violations of the Law, (the Birthright of every Subject of this Kingdom). though in an humble Petition directed to both Houses; and if any did, it was stifled in the Birth, called *Sedition*, and burnt by the common Hangman.

They have restrained the Attendance of Our ordinary and necessary Household-servants, and seized upon those small sums of Money which Our Credit had provided to buy Us Bread, With Injunctions, *That none shall be suffered to be conveyed or returned to Us to York*, or any of Our Peers or Servants with Us, so that (in effect) they have blocked Us up in that County.

They have filled the ears of the People with the noise of Fears and Jealousies, (though taken up upon trust) tales of Skippers, Salt-Fleets, and such like, by which Alarms they might prepare them to receive such impressions, as might best advance this Designe when it should be ripe. And now it seems they think We are sufficiently prepared for these bitter Pills. We are in a handsome Posture to receive these *humane Desires*, (which probably are intended to make way for a Superlatation of a (yet) higher nature. *As We had not made this discovery to you*) for they do not tell us this is all. In them We must not seeke that these Contrivers (the better to advance their true ends) disguised as much as they could their intents with a mixture of some things really to be approved by every honest man; Others specious and popular. And some which are already granted by Us. All which are cunningly twisted and mixed with those other things of their main Designe of Ambition and private interest, so hope, that at the first view, every eye may not so clearly discern them in their proper colour.

We would not be understood, *That We intend to fix this Designe upon both, or either House of Parliament*; We utterly professe against it, being most confident of the Loyalty, good affections and integrity of the intentions of that great Body, and knowing well that very many of both Houses were absent, and many dissented from all those particulars We complain of. But We do beleeme, and accordingly professe to all the world, that the Malignity of this Designe (as dangerous to the Laws of this Kingdom, the Peace of the same, and the Liberties of all Our good Subjects, as to Our self, and Our just Prerogative)

Prerogative hath proceeded from the subtil Informations, mischievous Practices, and evil Counsels of ambitious turbulent Spirits, directed to Gods true Religion, and the Vnity of the Professors thereof, Our Honour and Safety, and the publike Peace and prosperity of Our people, not without a strong Influence upon the very actions of both Houses. But how fairly to ever we operate, We shall (with Gods assistance) endeavour to discharge Our duty with upright hearts of heart: And therefore since these Propositions come to Vs in the name of both Houses of Parliament, We shall take a more particular notice of every of them.

If the 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 19. Demands had bin writ & printed in a tongue unknown to Vs and Our people, it might have been possible We & they might have (happily) published the Propositions to be such as might have bin in Order to intend or procure in the Petition (to wit) *the establishing of Our Honour and safety, the welfare & security of Our Subjects & Dominion, & the removing their Leasuries & Discontents, which is impossible to have unhappily fallen between Us & Our people, and to be done by Us, and them a constant cause of Honour, Peace & Prosperity.* What being read and understood by all, We cannot but assure Our Self that this Proposition, joynt to these Propositions, will rather appear a Mockery and a Scorne: The Demand being such, as We were unworthy of the trust reposed in Vs by the Law, and of Our descent from many so great and famous Ancestors, if We could be brought to abandon that power which onely can enable Us to perform what We are sworn to, in protecting Our people and the Laws, and so assure others into it, as to develt Our self of it: Although not onely Our present Condition (which it can hardly be) were more necessitous then it is, and We were both vanquishr and a Prisoner, and in a worse condition then ever the most unfortunate of Our Predecessours have been reduced to, by the most criminal of their Subjects: And though the Bait laid to draw Vs to it, and to Keep Our Subjects from indignation at the mention of it, the promises of a *pleasant, and unparallelled Revenue*, were reduced from general (which signifie nothing) to cleere and certain particulars, since such a Bargain would have too great a resemblance of that of *Esau*, if We should part with such Honours of Our Crowne, as We worth all the rest of the Garland, and have been transmitted to Vs from so many Ancestours, and have been found so usefull and necessary for the welfare and Security of Our Subjects, for any present necessity, or for any low and furdie Considerations of Wealth and gain. And therefore all men that being that these Accommodations are most easily made, and most easily dissolved, when they are grounded upon reasonable and equal Conditions. We have great Cause to beleve, that the Contrivers of these had no intention of setting any firm Accommodation, but to increase those Leasuries, and widen that division, which (not by Our fault) is now unhappily fallen between Vs and both Houses.

It is also said, *That all the Lords and others of Our Privy Councils, and such* (We know now what you mean by such, but We have cause to thinke you mean all) *great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home or beyond the Seas, or care is taken to leave on no Person or place, that Our dishonour may be done, not to be bound within this Kingdom, though no subtil Informations, such a difference is probably to be believed to have bin the cause of Our distractions and dangers.*

*Dangers should be put from Our Privy Council, and from those Offices and employments, whoso they be approved by both Houses of Parliament, how faithful to ever We have found them to Us and the Publike, and how far soever they have been from offending against any law, the only rule they had or any others ought to have to walk by. We therefore to this part of this Demand return you this Answer. That We are willing to grant that they shall take a larger Oath then you your selves desire in your 1st Demand, for maintaining not of any part, but of the whole Law; And we have and do assure you, That We will be carefull to make election of such persons in those places of trust, as shall have given good testimonies of their abilities and integrities, and against whom there can be no just cause of exception, whercon reasonably to ground a diffidence. That if We have or shall be mistaken in Our election, We have and do assure you, that there is no man so near to Us in place or affection, whom we will not leave to the Justices of the Law, if you shall bring a particular charge and sufficient proofs against him; And that We have given you (the best pledge of the effects of such a promise on Our part, & the best security for the performance of their dutie on theirs) a Triennial Parliament, the apprehension of whose Justice will in all probability make them waver how they provoke it, and Us waver how We chuse such, as by the discoverie of their faults may in any degree seem to discredit Our election. But that without any shadow of a fault objected, onely perhaps because they follow their conscience, and preserve the established Laws, and agree not in such Votes, or assent not so such Bills, as some persons, who have now too great an Influence even upon both Houses, judge or seem to judge to be for the publike good, and as are agreeable to that new *Vespa* of Religion and Government into which they endeavour to transform this Kingdom, (for we remember what names, and for what Reasons, you left out in the Bill offered Us concerning the *Militia*, which you had your selves recommended in the Ordinance) We will never consent to the displacing of any, whom for their former merits from, and affection to Us and the publike. We have intrusted, since We conceive, That to do so would take away both from the affection of Our servants, the care of Our service, & the Honour of Our Justice. And We the more wonder, That it should be asked by you of Us, since it appears by the 12th Demand, That your selves count it reasonable, after the present turn is served, that the Judges and Officers who are then placed may hold their places, *quem diu se bene possint*. And We are resolved to be as carefull of those We have chosen, as you are of those you would chuse, and to remove none, till they appear to Us to have otherwise behaved themselves, or shall be evicted by legall proceedings to have done so.*

But this Demand (as unreasonable as it is) is but one link of a great Chaine, and but the first bound of that Ladder, by which Our Iust. Ancient. Regall Power is endeavoured to be ferched down to the ground. For it appears plainly, that it is not with the persons now chosen, but with Our choosing that you are displeased; For you demand, That the persons put into the places and employments of those who shall be removed, may be approved by both Houses, which is so far (as to some it may at first sight appear) from being lesse then the power of nomination, that of two things (of which We will never grant either) We would sooner be content that you should nominate, and We approve, then you approve and

And We nominate; The meer nomination being so far from being any thing, that if We could do no more, We would never take the paines to do that, when We should only hazard those whom We esteemed to the storm of a civil fall, if they hapned not to be agreeable not only to the judgement but to the passion, interest or humor of the present major part of either House. Not to speak now of the great factions, animosities and divisions which this power would introduce in both Houses, between both Houses, and in the severall Countreies, for the choice of persons to be sent to that place where that power was; and between the persons that were so chosen. Neither is this strange Potiō prescribed to Us only for once, for the cure of a present, pressing, desperate disease, but for a dyer to Us and Our Posterity. It is demanded, *That Our Counsellors, all Chief Officers both of Law & State, Commanders of Forts & castles, and all Piazza commanders made as to voting, without which how little is the rest of appropry stuff that is chosen by them from time to time; and rather then it should ever be left to the Crown (to whom it only doth and shall belong) if any place fall void in the intermission of Parliament, the major part of the approved Councill is to approve them.* Neither is it only demanded, that We should quit the Power and Right Our Predecessors have had of appointing Persons in these places, but for Councellors We are to be restrained as well in the number as in the person; and a power must be annexed to these places, which their Predecessors had none; and indeed if this power were past to them, it were not fit We should be trusted to choose those, who were to be trusted as much as We.

It is demanded, *That such matters as concern the publique, and are proper for the High Court of Parliament (which is Our great and Supreme Councill) may be debated, resolved and transacted only in Parliament, and not elsewhere; and such as presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be referred to the Consideration and Judgement of the Parliament; and such other matters of State, as are proper for Our Privy Councill, shall be debated and concluded by such of Our Nobility (though indeed it being made by Us they may now do so without the Consent of both Houses) We are minded to suffer them your Liberties, and others to suffer from time to time chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and that no publick Act concerning the affairs of the Kingdom which are proper for Our Privy Councill, may be effected of any validity, or proceeding from the Royall Authority, but by the Consent of the House, and Councill of the Nobility of Our Councill, in Parliament, and both Houses, when Demands are of that nature, that to grant them were in effect at once to depose both Our Self and Our Posterity.*

These being past, We may be waited on here minded; We may have Our hand kist. The Style of Majestie continued to Us; And the Kings Authority, declared by both Houses of Parliament, may be still the Style of your Commands. We may have Swords and Maces carried before Us; and press Our Self with the sight of a Crown and scepter, that for an instant we would not long flourish, when the Stock upon which they grew were dead; but as to true and real Power We should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the figure of a King. We were ever willing that Our Parliament should debate, resolve, and enact such matters as are proper for them, as they are proper for them: And We heartily wish, that they would be as careful not to exceed their Debates and Resolutions beyond what is proper to them, that multitude of things

things profitable, and chuse determinable by the Ordinary Judicatures,
it may not be entertained in Parliament, and to cause a long chargeable fruit-
less attendance of Our People, and (by Degrees) draw to you as well as the
country, as all the fault of *William of Bath*, and direct your proper business;
That the course of Law be no wayes diverted, much lesse disturbed, as was
actually done by the stop of the Proceedings against a Riot in *Somerset*, by
Order of the House of Commons, in a time so riotous and tumultuous, as much
intended the danger of Populish Insolencies, by such a countenance to Riots,
and discountenance of Law. That you defend not to the least of recom-
mending Lecturers to Churches, nor stand on the Legislative power by
commanding (the Law not having yet commanded it) that They whom you
recommend be received, although neither the Parson nor Bishop do approve
of them; And that the Refusers (according to the course so much formerly
complain'd of) have been us'd at the Countroll Table, be not sent for and
attend on these cause. At least that you should consider convenient, as it doth Law,
and common sense, but who are well known to us to be Orthodox, learn-
ed, and Modest, and at least such as have taken Oaths, and are otherwise
depraved in the Book of Common Prayer, & other which appertain by the Di-
scipline, Sermons and persons of faith recommended by you, not so have been
hitherto taken, and is highly concerning both your duty, and the Common-
wealth in the consequences, that it should have been taken; That no before
estate transact, what is proper for two, nor two what is proper for the one, and
consequently, that contrary to Our declared will, Our Forces may not be staid;
Our Arms may not be removed; Our Moneys may not be stopp'd; Our Religion
may not be countermund by you, nor We defend to countermund
them. Our Self, nor such countances made upon a rebell War against Us, upon
pretence of an imaginary War against you, and a Commerce of necessity, as so
far do you pass beyond your limits, whilst you seem by your Demanded to
strangely distressed within them. At last We could have wish you would have
expressed what matter you meant, as far as be manifest in *Parliament*,
and what you meant by each in *Parliament*. You have (as I say) been verbumund
by the new doctrines of the law to think that as perforce our debate, which
 hath not used to be, shall be held within those Walls, but been trusted wholly
with Our Predecessors and Us, and to make of these things which without
Legal Authority, since there were Kings of this Kingdom were never man-
acted; It therefore concerns Us the more that you speak out, and that both
We and Our People may either know the bottom of your Demands, and know
them to be bottomless. What concerns more the Publick, and is more (in-
deed) proper for the high Court of Parliament, above the making of Law,
which not only might be so be manifest, but can be transacted up with
ease; but then you must admit Us to be a part of the Parliament, you must
dot (as the sense is of this part of this Demand, if it have any) that the free
dom of Our Answer, when We have as much right to reject what We think
unreasonable, as you have to propose what you think convenient or neces-
sary; nor is it possible Our Answer, either to this, or any other Proposition,
should be wholly free; if We may not use the Liberty of every one of you,
and of every Subject, and receive advice (without their danger who shall give
it)

it) from any person known or unknown, sworn or unsworn, in these matters in which the Manage of Our Vote is trusted by the Law to Our own Judgment and Conscience, which how best to inform, is (and ever shall be) left likewise to Us; and most unreasonable it were that two Estates, proposing something to the Third, that Third should be bound to take no advice, whether it were fit to passe, but from those two that did propose it. We shall ever in these things which are trusted wholly to Us by the Law, not decline to hearken to the Advice of Our great Councell, and shall use to hear willingly the free debates of Our Privie Councell (whensoever We may be suffered to have them for sending for, and they shall not be terrified from that freedom, by Votes (and brands of Malignants and Enemies to the State, for advising what no Law forbids to advise) but We will retain Our Power of admitting no more to any Councell then the Nature of the Businesse requires, and of discouraging with whom We please, of what We please, and informing Our Understanding by debate with any Persons, who may be well able to Inform and Advise Us in some particular, though their Qualities, Education or other Abilities may not make them so fit to be of Our sworn Councell, and not tye Our Self up not to hear any more then twenty five (and those not chosen absolutely by Us) out of a Kingdom so replenished with Judicious and Experienced Persons in severall kindes. And though We shall (with the proportionable Consideration due to them) always weigh the Advices both of Our Great and Privie Councell, yet We shall also look upon their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands, or Impositions; upon them as Our Councellours, not as Our Tutors and Guardians, and upon Our Self as their King, not as their Pupill, or Ward; for whatsoever of Regality were by the Modestie of Interpretation left in Us in the first part of the second Demand, as to the Parliament, is taken from Us in the second part of the same, and placed in this new fangled kinde of Councellours, whose power is such and so expressed by it, that in all Publike Acts concerning the Affairs of this Kingdom, which are proper for Our Privie Councell (for whose Advice all publike Acts are sometimes proper, though never necessary) they are desired to be admitted joynt Patentees with Us in the Regality, and it is not plainly expressed whether they mean Us so much as a single Vote in these Affairs: But it is plain they mean Us no more at most then a single Vote in them, and no more power then every one of the rest of Our Fellow-Councellours; onely leave to Us, out of their respect and durie, (and that onely is left of all Our ancient Power) a Choice, whether these that are thus to be joyned with (or rather set over) Us, shall be fifteen, or twenty five, and great care is taken that the Oath which these Men shall take, shall be such, in the framing the form of which (though sure We are not wholly unconcerned in it) We may be wholly excluded, and that wholly reserved to be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

And to shew that no more Care is taken of Our safety, then of Our Power, after so great indignities offered to Us, and countenanced by those who were most obliged to resent them: After Our Town and Fort kept from Us (from which, if it were no otherwise Ours then the whole Kingdom is, We can no more legally be kept out then out of Our whole Kingdom, which sure your selves will not deny to be Treason) Our Arms, Our Goods sent away, and

Our Money stop from Us, Our Guards (in which We have no other Intention then to hinder the end of these things from being proportionable to their beginnings) are not onely desired to be dismissed before satisfaction for the injuries, punishments of the injurers, and care taken for Our future Security from the like. But it is likewise desired, (and for this Law is pretended, and might as well have been for the rest, which yet with some ingenuity are it seems acknowledged to be but Desires of Grace) that We shall not for the future raise any Guards or extraordinary Forces, but in case of actuall Rebellion or Invasion, which if it had been Law, and so observed in the time of Our Famous Predecessours, few of those Victories which have made this Nation famous in other parts, could have been legally achieved, nor could Our blessed Predecessour Queen *Elizabeth* have so defended Her self in 88. And if no Forces must be leavied till Rebellions and Invasions (which will not stay for the calling of Parliaments, and their consent for raising Forces) be actuall, they must undoubtedly (at least most probably) be effectuell and prevalent.

And as neither care is taken for Our Rights, Honour, nor safety as a Prince, so Our Rights as a private Person are endeavoured to be had from Us, it being asked, that it may be unlawfull and punishable, not onely to conclude, but even to treat of any Marriage with any Person for Our own Children, or to place Governours about them, without consent of Parliament, and in the intermission of those, without the consent of Our good Lords of the Councill, that We may not only be in a more despicable state then any of Our Predecessours, but in a meaner and viler condition then the lowest of Our Subjects, who value no liberty they have more, then that of the free Education and Marriage of their Children, from which We are asked to debar Our Self, and have the more reason to take it ill that We are so, because for Our choice of a Governour for Our Son, and of a Husband for Our Daughter, (in which the Protestant Religion was Our principall Consideration) We conceived We had reason to expect your present thanks, and the increase of your future trusts.

We suppose these Demands by this time to appear such as the Demanders cannot be supposed to have any such reall fear of Us as hath been long pretended, they are too much in the style, not onely of equals, but of Conquerours, and as little to be intended for removing of Jealousies (for which end they are said to be asked, and that is not as Merchants ask at first much more then they will take, but as most necessary to effect it, which (if they be) God help this poor Kingdom, and those who are in the hands of such Persons, (whose Jealousies nothing else will remove) which indeed is such a way, as if there being differences and suits between two persons, whereof one would have from the other severall parcels of his ancient Land, he should propole to him by way of Accommodation, that he would quit to him all those in question, with the rest of his Estate, as the most necessary and effectuell means to remove all those suits and differences. But we call God to witnesse, that as for Our Subjects like these Rights are vested in Us, so for their sakes, as well as for Our own, We are resolved not to quit them, nor to subvert (though in a Parliamentary way) the ancient, equal, happy, well-pouled and never enough commended Constitution of the Government of this Kingdom, nor to make Our Self of a King of England a Duke of Venice, and this of a Kingdom a Republike.

There

There being three kinds of Government amongst men, Absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, and all those having their particular conveniences and inconveniences. The experience and wisdom of your Ancestors hath so moulded this out of a mixture of these, as to give to this Kingdom (as far as humane Prudence can provide) the conveniences of all three, without the inconveniences of any one, as long as the Balance hangs even between the three Estates, and they run joyntly on in their proper Channel (begetting Verdure and Fertility in the Meadows on both sides) and the overflowing of either on either side raise no Deluge or Inundation. The ill of absolute Monarchy is Tyranny, The ill of Aristocracy is Faction and Division, The ills of Democracy are Tumults, Violence and Licentiousness. The good of Monarchy is the uniting a Nation under one Head, to resist Invasion from abroad, and Insurrection at home: The good of Aristocracy is the Conjunction of Counsell in the ablest Persons of a State for the Publike benefit: The good of Democracy is Liberty, and the Courage and Industry which Liberty begets.

In this Kingdom the Laws are joyntly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the People, all having free Votes and particular Priviledges: The Government according to these Laws is trusted to the King, Power of Treaties of War and Peace, of making Peers, of chusing Officers and Councillours for State, Judges for Law, Commanders for Forts and Castles, giving Commissions for raising men to make War abroad, or to prevent or provide against Invasions or Insurrections at home, benefit of Confiscations, power of pardoning, and some more of the like kinde are placed in the King. And this kinde of regulated Monarchy having this power to preserve that Authority, without which it would be disabled to preserve the Laws in their Force, and the Subjects in their Liberties and Proprieties, is intended to draw to him such a Respect and Relation from the great Ones, as may hinder the ills of Division and Faction, and such a Fear and Reverence from the People, as may hinder Tumults, Violence and Licentiousness. Again, that the Prince may not make use of this high and perpetuall Power to the hurt of those for whose good He hath it, and make use of the name of Publike Necessity for the gain of his private Favourites and Followers to the detriment of His People, the House of Commons (an excellent Conserver of Liberty, but never intended for any share in Government, or the chusing of them that should Govern) is solely intrusted with the first Propositions concerning the Levies of Moneys (which is the sinews as well of Peace as War) and the impeaching of those, who for their own ends, though countenanced by any surreptitious command of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knows it) to protect, and to the protection of which they were bound to advise Him, at least not to serve Him in the contrary. And the Lords being trusted with a Judicatorie power, are an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and people, to assist each against any encroachments of the other, and by just judgements to preserve that Law which ought to be the Rule of every one of the three. For the better enabling them in this, beyond the examples of any of Our Ancestors, We were willingly contented to oblige Our Self, both to call a Parliament every three years, and not to dissolve it in fifty dayes, and for the present Exigency, the better to raise Money, and

avoid the pressure (no lesse grievous to Us then them) Our People must have suffered by a longer continuance of so vast a Charge as two great Armies, and for their greater certainty of having sufficient time to remedy the inconveniencies arisen during so long an absence of Parliaments, and for the punishment of the Causers and Ministers of them, We yielded up Our Right of dissolving this Parliament, expecting an extraordinary moderation from it in gratitude for so unexampled a Grace, and little looking that any *Malignant Party* should have been encouraged or enabled to have perswaded them, first to countenance the Injustices and Indignities We have endured, and then by a new way of Satisfaction for what was taken from Us, to demand of Vs at once to confirm what was so taken, and to give up almost all the rest.

Since therefore the Power Legally placed in both Houses is more then sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny, and without the power which is now asked from Us We shall not be able to discharge that Trust, which is the end of Monarchy, since this would be a total Subversion of the Fundamentall Laws, and that excellent Constitution of this Kingdom, which hath made this Nation so many yeeres both Famous and happy to a great degree of Envie; since to the power of Punishing (which is already in your hands according to Law) if the power of Preferring be added, We shall have nothing left for Vs, but to look on; since the incroaching of one of these Estates upon the power of the other is unhappy in the effects both to them and all the rest; since this power of at most a joynt Government in Vs with Our Counsellors, (or rather Our Guardians) will return Vs to the worst kind of Minority, and make Vs despicable both at home and abroad, and beget eternal Factions and Dissentions (as destructive to publike Happinesse as War) both in the chosers, and the Houses that chuse them, and the people who chuse the Chusers; since so new a power will undoubtedly intoxicate persons who were not born to it, and beget not onely Divisions among them as equals, but in them contempt of Vs as become an equall to them, and Insolence and Injustice towards Our people, as now so much their inferiours, which will be the more grievous unto them, as suffering from those who were so lately of a neerer degree to themselves, and being to have redresse onely from those that placed them, and fearing they may be inclined to p. eserve what they have made, both out of kindness and policie; since all great changes are extreemly inconvenient, and almost infallibly beget yet greater Changes, which beget yet greater Inconveniencies.

Since as great an one in the Church must follow this of the Kingdom; Since the second Estate would in all probability follow the Fate of the first, and by some of the same turbulent spirits jealousies would be soon raised against them, and the like Propositions for reconciliation of Differences would be then sent to them, as they now have joyned to send to Us, till (all Power being vested in the House of Commons, and their number making them incapable of transacting Affairs of State with the necessary Secrecie and Expedition; those being retrusted to some close Committee) at last the Common people (who in the mean time must be flattered, and to whom Licence must be given in all their wilde humors, how contrary soever to established Law, or their own reall Good) discover this *Arcanum Imperii*, That all this was done by them, but not for them, grow weary of Journey-work, and set up for themselves, call Parity and

and Independence, Liberty; Devour that Estate which had devoured the rest; Destroy all Rights and Proprieties, all distinctions of Families and Merit; And by this means this splendid and excellently distinguished Form of Government end in a dark equall *Chaos* of Confusion; and the long Line of Our many noble Ancestors in a *lack Cade* or a *Wat Tyler*.

For all these Reasons to all these Demands, Our Answer is, *Nolumus Leges Anglia mutari*: But this We promise, that We will be as carefull of preserving the Laws in what is supposed to concern wholly Our Subjects, as in what most concerns Our Self: For indeed We professe to beleve, That the preservation of every Law concerns Us, those of obedience being not secure, when those of protection are violated; And We being most of any injured in the least violation of that, by which We enjoy the highest Rights and greatest Benefits, and are therefore obliged to defend no lesse by Our interest then by Our duty, and hope that no Jealousies to the contrary shall be any longer nourished in any of Our good People, by the subtilt insinuations, and secret practices of men, who for private ends are disaffected to Our Honour and Safety, and the Peace and Prosperity of Our People. And to shew you, that no just indignation at so reproachfull offers shall make Us refuse to grant what is probable to conduce to the good of Our good People, because of the ill company it comes in, We will search carefully in this heap of unreasonable Demands, for so much as We may (complying with Our Conscience, and the dutie of Our Trust) assent unto, and shall accordingly agree to it.

In pursuance of which Search, in the 4th Proposition, under a Demand which would take from Us that trust which God, Nature, and the Laws of the Land have placed in Us; and of which none of you could endure to be deprived, We finde something to which We give this Answer, That We have committed the principall places about Our Children to persons of Quality, Integrity and Pietie, with speciall regard that their tender years might be so seasoned with the Principles of the true Protestant Religion, as (by the blessing of God upon this Our care) this whole Kingdom may in due time reap the fruit thereof: And as We have been likewise very carefull in the choice of Servants about them, that none of them may be such, as by ill Principles, or by ill Examples to crosse Our endeavours for their Pious and Vertuous Education, so if there shall be found (for all Our care to prevent it) any person about Our Children (or about Vs, which is more then you ask) *against whom both Houses* shall make appear to Vs *any just exception*, We shall not onely remove them, but thank you for the Information; Onely We shall expect, that you shall be likewise carefull that there be no under-hand dealing by any to seek faults to make room for others to succeed in their places.

For the 5th Demand, as We will not suffer any to share with Vs in Our power of Treaties, which are most improper for Parliaments, and lest in those Treaties in which We are neerliest concerned, not onely as a King, but as a Father, yet We do (such is Our desire to give all reasonable satisfaction) assure you by the word of a King, that We shall never propose or entertain any Treaty whatsoever for the marriage of any of Our Children, without due regard to the true Protestant Profession, the good of Our Kingdoms, and the Honour of Our Family.

For the 6th Demand, concerning the *Laws in force against Jesuites, Priests, and*

Papists Recusants, We have by many of Our Messages to you, by Our voluntary promise to you, so solemnly made never to pardon any Popish Priest, by Our strict Proclamations lately published in this point, and by the publique Examples which We have made in that case since Our Residence at *Towke*, and before at *London* sufficiently expressed Our zeal therein. Why do you then ask that in which Our own Indination hath prevented you? And if you can yet finde any more effectuall Course to disable them from Disturbing the State, or eluding the Law by trusts or otherwise, We shall willingly give Our Consent to it.

For the 7th concerning the *Votes of Popish Lords*, We understand that they in discretion have withdrawn themselves from the service of the House of Peers, (and had done so when use was publicly made of their names to asperse the Votes of that house, which was then counted as Malignant as those (who are called, *Our unknown and unsworn Counsellors*), are now) neither do We conceive that such a positive Law against the Votes of any whose blood gives them that right, is so proper in regard of the Priviledge of Parliament, but are content, that so long as they shall not be conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, they shall not be admitted to sit in the House of Peers, but onely to give their Proxies to such Protestant Lords as they shall chuse, who are to dispose of them as they themselves shall think fit, without any Reference at all to the Giver.

As to the desires for a *Bill for the Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Profession*, many about Us can witnesse with Vs, That We have often delivered Our Opinion, that such a Course (with Gods blessing upon it) would be the most effectuall for the rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdom; We shall therefore thank you for it, and encourage you in it, and, when it comes unto Vs, do Our Dutie; And we heartily wish, for the publique good, that the time you have spent in making Ordinances without Vs, had been employed in preparing this and other good Bills for Vs.

For the 8th, touching *The Reformation to be made of the Church Government and Liturgie*; We had hoped, that what We had formerly declared concerning the same, had been so sufficiently understood by you and all good Subjects, that We should not need to have expressed Our Self further in it. We told you in Our Answers to your Petition presented to Vs at *Hampton-Court* the first of December, *That for any illegall Innovations which may have crept in, We should willingly concur in the removal of them; That if Our Parliament should advise Vs to call a Nationall Synode, which may duly examine such Ceremonies as give just cause of Offence to any, We should take it into Consideration, and apply Our Self to give due satisfaction therein; That We were perswaded in Our Conscience, that no church could be found upon the Earth, that professeth the true Religion with more purity of Doctrine, then the church of England doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are so joyntly more beautified, and free from Superstition, then as they are here established by Law; which (by the grace of God We will with Constancie maintain (while We live) in their Purity and Glory, not onely against all Invasions of Popery, but also from the Irreverence of those unany Schismatics and Separatists, wherewith of late this Kingdom and Our City of London abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State, For the suppression of whom We required your timely and active assistance. We told you in Our first declaration, printed by the advice of Our*

Privie Council, That for differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, We should in readinesse to any number of Our loving Subjects very willingly comply with the advice of Our Parliament, that some Law might be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment or prosecution for such Ceremonies, and in such cases, which by the judgement of most men are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful; Provided, that this case should be attempted and pursued with that modestie, temper and submission, that in the mean time, the Peace & quiet of the Kingdom be not disturbed, the Decencie & comelinesse of Gods Service & countenance, nor the Piety, Sober, Devout actions of those reverend Persons, who were the first labourers in the blessed Reformation, or of that time, be scandalized and defamed. And We heartily wish, that others whom it concerned, had been as ready (as their dutie bound them, though they had not received it from Us) to have pursued this caution, as We were and still are willing & ready, to make good every particular of that Promise. Nor did We only appear willing to joyn in so good a Work, when it should be brought Us, but prest & urged you to it by Our Message of the 14. of Febr in these words, And because His Majestie observes great and different troubles to arise in the hearts of His People, concerning the Government and Discipline of the Church, His Majestie is willing to declare, That He will refer the whole consideration to the wisdom of His Parliament, which He desires them to enter into speedily; that the present distractions about the same may be composed: but desires not to be pressed to any single Act on His part, till the whole be so digested and settled by both Houses, that His Majestie may clearly see what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away: Of which We the more hoped of a good successe to the generall satisfaction of Our People, because you seem in this Proposition to desire but a Reformation, and not (as is daily preached for, as necessary, in those many Conventicles which have within these nineteen moneths begun to swarm, and which, though their Leaders differ from you in this opinion, yet appear to many as countenanced by you, by not being punished by you (few else, by reason of the Order of the House of Commons of the 9th of September, daring to do it) a destruction of the present Discipline and Liturgie. And We shall most cheerfully give Our best assistance for raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching Ministers, in such course as shall be most for the encouragement and advancement of Piety and Learning.

For the Bills you mention, and the Consultation you intimate, knowing nothing of the particular matters of the one (though We like the Titles well) nor of the manner of the other, but from an Informer: (to whom We give little credit, and We wish no man did more) Common fame, We can say nothing till We see them.

For the 12th We would not have the Oath of all Privie Counsellors and Judges framed to particular Statutes of one or two particular Parliaments, but extend to all Statutes of all Parliaments, and the whole Law of the Land, and shall willingly consent that an enquiry of all the breaches and additions of the Law may be given in charge by the Justices of the Kings Bench every Term; and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of Peace at the Sessions; to be presented and punished according to Law.

For the 17th We shall ever be most ready, (and We are sorry it should be thought

thought needfull to move Us to it) not onely to joyn with any (particularly with the States of the united Provinces, of Which We have given a late proof in the Match of Our Daughter) for the defence and maintenance of Protestant Religion, against all designs and attempts of the Pope and his adherents, but singly (if need were) to oppose with Our life and fortune all such Designs in all other Nations, were they joyned : And that for Considerations of Conscience, far more then any temporall end of obtaining acesse of strength and reputation, or any naturall end of restoring Our Royall Sister and her Princely Issue to their Dignities and Dominions, though these be likewise much considered by Us.

For the 18th. It was not Our fault, that an Act was not passed to clear the Lord Kymbolton, and the five Members of the House of Commons, but yours, who inserted such Clauses into both the Preamble and Act (perhaps perswaded to it by some who wish not that you should in any thing receive satisfaction from Vs) as by passing the Preamble We must have wound'd Our Honour against Our Conscience, and by another Clause have admitted a Consequence, from which We could never have been secured, by declaring, *That no Member of either House, upon any Accusation of Treason, could have his Person seized without the Consent of that House, of which he is a Member*, though the known Law be, *That Priviledge of Parliament extends not to Treason*, and if it did, any Member (the House being for a short time adjourned, and so their Consent not being so had) how treasonable soever his Intentions were, how clearly soever known, and how suddenly soever to be executed, must have fair leave given him to go on and pursue them, no way, how Legall soever, after the passing such a Clause, being left to prevent it.

To conclude, We Conjure you and all men to rest satisfied with the Truth of Our Professions, and the Reality of Our Intentions; not to ask such things as deny themselves; That you Declare against Tumults, and punish the Authours; That you allow Vs Our Propriety in Our Towns, Arms and Goods, and Our Share in the Legislative Power, which would be counted in Vs, not onely breach of Priviledge, but Tyranny and Subversion of Parliaments to deny to you : And when you shall have given Vs satisfaction upon those Persons who have taken away the One, and recalled those Declarations (particularly that of the 26th of May) and those in the point of the Militia (Our just Rights, wherein We will no more part with then with Our Crown; lest we inable others by them to take that from Us) which would take away the other; and declined the beginnings of a War against Vs, under pretence of Our Intention of making One against you: as We have never opposed the first part of the 13th Demand, so We shall be ready to concur with you in the latter.

And being then confident that the Credit of those Men, who desire a generall Combustion, will be so weakened with you, that they will not be able to do this Kingdom any more harm, We shall be willing to grant our generall Pardon, with such Exceptions as shall be thought fit, and shall receive much more joy in the hope of a full and constant happinesse of Our People in the true Religion, and under the Protection of the Law, by a blessed union between Us and Our Parliament (so much desired by Vs) then in any such increase of Our Own Revenue (how much soever beyond former Grants) as (when Our Subjects were wealthiest) Our Parliament could have settled upon Us.

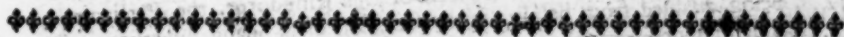


THE HUMBLE PETITION OF both Houses of PARLIAMENT.



Our Majesties most humble and faithfull Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and desires more precious, and of higher esteem (next to the honour and immediate service of God) then the just and faithfull performance of their dutie to Your Majestie and this Kingdom; And being very sensible of the great distractions, and distempers, and

of the imminent dangers and calamities which those distractions and distempers are like to bring upon Your Majestie and Your Subjects, all which have proceeded from the subtil insinuations, mischievous practices, and evill counsels of men disaffected to Gods true Religion, Your Majesties honour and safety, and the publike peace and prosperitie of your people. After a serious observation of the causes of those mischiefs, do in all humility and sinceritie present to Your Majestie their most dutifull Petition and advise, that out of your Princely wisdom for the establishing your own honour and safetie, and gracious tenderesse of the welfare and securitie of your Subjects and Dominions, you will be pleased to grant and accept these their humble desires and propositions, as the most necessary effectual means, through Gods blessing, of removing those jealousies and differences which have unhappily fallen betwixt you and your people, and procuring both Your Majestie and them a constant course of honour, peace, and happiness.



THE PROPOSITIONS.

1. **T**HAT the Lords and others of your Majesties Privy Councill, and such great Officers and Ministers of State, either at home or beyond the Seas, may be put from your Privy Councill, and from those Offices and employments, excepting such as shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that the Persons put into the places and employments of those that are removed, may be approved

proved of by both Houses of Parliament. And that all Privy Councillors shall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.

2. That the great affairs of this Kingdom may not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unsworn Councillors; but that such matters as concern the publique, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament, which is Your Majesties great and supream Council, may be debated, resolved, and transacted onely in Parliament, and not elsewhere; And such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgement of Parliament; And such other matters of State as are proper for your Majesties Privy Council, shall be debated and concluded by such of the Nobility and others as shall from time to time be chosen for that place by approbation of both Houses of Parliament; And that no publique Act concerning the affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for your Privy Council, may be effected of any validity as proceeding from the royall Authoritie, unlesse it be done by the advice and consent of the major part of your Council, attested under their hands. And that your Council may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen. And if any Councillors place happen to be void in the Intervals of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the assent of the major part of the Council, which choice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of the Parliament, or else to be void.

3. That the Lord high Steward of *England*, Lord high Constable, Lord Chauncellor, or Lord Keeper of the great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marshall, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, chief Governor of *Ireland*, Chauncellour of the *Exchequer*, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two chief Justices and chief Baron, may alwayes be chosen with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament; And in the Intervalls of Parliament by assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Councillors.

4. That he or they unto whom the Government and education of the Kings Children shall be committed, shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliaments, by the assent of the major part of the Council, in such manner as is before exprest in the choice of Councillors; And that all such servants as are now about them, against whom both Houses shall have any just exception shall be removed.

5. That no Marriage shall be concluded, or treated for any of the Kings Children, with any forreign Prince, or other person whatsoever abroad, or at home, without the consent of Parliament, under the penaltie of a premunire unto such as shall so conclude, or treat any Marriage as aforesaid, And that the said penaltie shall not be pardoned, or dispensed with, but by the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

6. That the Laws in force against Jesuites, Priests, and Popish Recusants, be strictly put in execution, without any tolleration, or dispensation to the contrary; And that some more effectuall course may be enacted, by authoritie of Parliament,

ment, to disable them from making any disturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by trusts or otherwise.

7. That the Votes of Popish Lords in the House of Peers may be taken away, so long as they continue Papists: And that His Majestie would consent to such a Bill as shall be drawn for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

8. That Your Majestie will be pleased to consent that such a reformation be made of the Church-government, and Liturgy, as both Houses of Parliament shall advise, wherein they intend to have consultations with Divines, as is expressed in their Declaration to that purpose. And that your Majestie will contribute your best assistance to them, for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for preaching Ministers through the Kingdom. And that your Majesty will be pleased to give your consent to Laws, for the taking away of innovations, and Superstition, and of pluralities, and against scandalous Ministers.

9. That your Majesty will be pleased to rest satisfied with that course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering the *Militia*, untill the same shall be further settled by a Bill. And that your Majesty will recall your Declarations, and Proclamations against the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That such Members of either House of Parliament, as have during this present Parliament been put out of any place and office, may either be restored to that place and office, or otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon the Petition of that House whereof he or they are Members.

11. That all privy Counsellors and Judges may take an Oath, the form whereof to be agreed on and settled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament, which shall be mentioned by both Houses of Parliament. And that an inquiry of all the breaches and violations of these Laws may be given in charge, by the Justices of the Kings Bench every Terme, and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of Peace at the Sessions, to be presented and punished according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers placed by approbation of both Houses of Parliament, may hold their places *Quam diu bene se gesserint*.

13. That the Justice of Parliament may passe upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom or fled out of it; And that all persons cited by either House of Parliament, may appear, and abide the censure of Parliament.

14. That the generall pardon offered by Your Majestie, may be granted with such exceptions as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.

15. That the Forts and Castles of this Kingdom may be put under the command and custody of such persons as Your Majestie shall appoint, with the approbation of your Parliament, and in the intervalls of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Councell, in such manner as is before expressed in the choice of Counsellors.

16. That the extraordinary Guards, and Military Forces, now attending Your Majestie, may be removed and discharged, and that for the future You will raise

no such Guards, or extraordinary Forces, but according to the Law, in case of a
 Rebelli^{on} or Invasion.

17. That Your Majestie will be pleased to enter into a more strict Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Protestant Religion for the defence and maintenance thereof against all designs and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to subvert and suppress it, whereby Your Majestie will obtaine a great access to strength and reputation, and Your Subjects be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary way for Your aid and assistance in restoring Your Royall Sister and her Princely Issue, to those Dignities, and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other distressed Protestant Princes, who have suffered in the same Cause.

18. That Your Majesty will be pleased by Act of Parliament to elect the Lord Kymbolton, and the five Members of the House of Commons, in such manner that future Parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that evil precedent.

19. That Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to passe a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter, from sitting or voting in Parliament, unless they be admitted thereunto with consent of both Houses of Parliament.



The Conclusion.

AND these our Humble Desires being granted by Your Majestie, we shall forthwith apply our selves to Regulate Your present Revenue, in such sort as may be for Your best advantage, and likewise to settle such an ordinary, and constant increase of it, as shall be sufficient to support Your Royall Dignitie in honour and plenty, beyond the proportion of any former Grants of the Subjects of this Kingdom to Your Majesties Royall Predecessors. We shall likewise put the Town of Hull into such hands, as Your Majestie shall appoint, with the Consent and Approbation of Parliament, and deliver up a just account of all the Magazine, and cheerfully imploy the uttermost of our Power and endeavour in the reall expression and performance of our most dutifull and Loyall Affections, to the preserving and maintaining the Royall Honour, Greatnesse, and Safetie of your Majestie, and your Posteritie.

F I N I S.

